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ABSTRACT

Controversy surrounding the definition of the gifted student, as enacted through New Mexico's Public School Reform Act of 1986 (S.B. 106) is examined in this study. The Kingdon decision-making model is applied to examine the reasons for the persistence of the policy definition of "gifted," despite continuing controversy. The summary discusses the usefulness of the model for education at the micro level and for explaining how issues are defined as significant. Changing the policymaking process requires problem identification and awareness, the existence of viable alternatives, timing, and the presence of an advocate network. A conclusion is that the key to understanding policy change is the discovery of factors for an idea's acceptance and institutionalization. One figure is included. (19 references) (LMI)

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THE POLITICS OF STATE EDUCATIONAL POLICYMAKING

USEFULNESS OF THE KINGDON MODEL

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John Kingdon, in his book Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies (1984), has developed what he refers to as a "revised garbage can model" to explain preenactment decisions in Congress. By examining health and transportation policy domains within a political context over a period of four years through observations and interviews, Kingdon wrote a series of cases and developed a model to explain "how an issue becomes an issue." An issue becomes an ISSUE when government officials are paying serious attention to it. Kingdon distinguished between the governmental agenda (the list of subjects getting attention) and the decision agenda (the list of subjects within the governmental agenda that are up for active decisions). While not a precisely predictive model, the Kingdon model describes process patterns (Malen, 1987). Kingdon argued that neither the rational-comprehensive model of decision making nor incrementalism (Lindblom, 1959) described the processes he investigated in his book. Instead, Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) model of organizational choice which includes streams of participants, choice opportunities, problems, and solutions that come together in a "garbage can," served as a point of departure for Kingdon's work because, as he wrote, his "research seems similar in many of its major contours to the essential logic

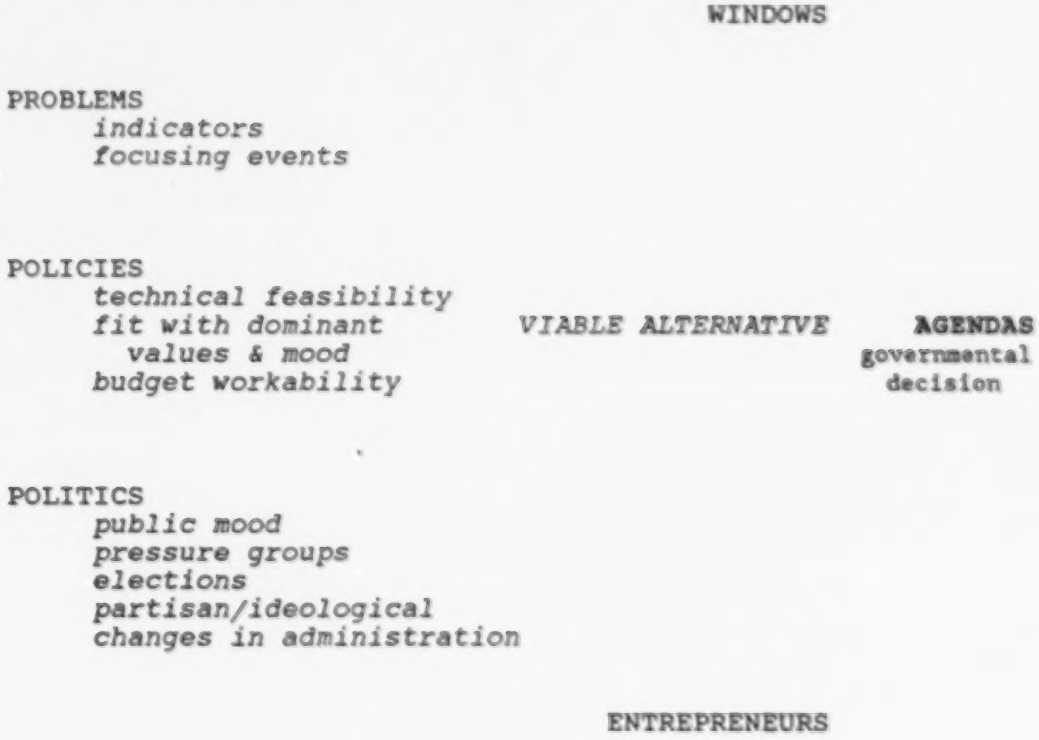
of their model" (Kingdon, 1984, p. 89). Cohen et al. described organizations as organized anarchies with three properties: problematic preferences, unclear technology, and fluid participation. The mix of garbage (the streams) in the can and how the garbage is processed result in outcomes; outcomes are dependent on the coupling of the streams. Outcomes are neither linear, rational, nor predictable, due to the myriad human factors which are part of any decision making episode. This is a very different model than rational decision making, and the resultant change is not necessarily incremental.

Kingdon added to and altered the garbage can model and characterized the policymaking process as one of three process streams flowing through the system, joined by fortuitous events and policy entrepreneurs. Ultimately, only a few issues arrive on the governmental and decision agendas; Kingdon's model explains events up to the point of an issue's reaching the decision agenda.

According to Kingdon, the policymaking process is more "free form" than traditional notions that suggest a rational progression from clear problem statements, to systematic collection of information to generate alternatives, to a rational choice among suggestions for the one best solution, and at last to implementation of the policy. The model Kingdon constructed to explain preenactment decisions provides the descriptive power of other organized anarchy

models, but reinjects some structure to the process which can allow a better understanding and perhaps some broad predictability in policy analysis. Figure 1 below depicts the Kingdon[4] model.

Figure 1
Kingdon's (1984) Model of Decision Making



During a qualitative case study of gifted education policymaking in New Mexico, after more than a year in the field as data collection and analysis proceeded, Kingdon's categories offered a way to illuminate some of the themes and patterns appearing in the data. The model appears to

have explanatory power for educational policymaking. The model captures the messiness of policymaking and seems descriptive of the educational policymaking scene.

This study transfers Kingdon's explanations of why legislatures attend to some problems and not to others in the state educational policy arena. Kingdon was concerned with neither actual enactment nor implementation of policy; instead, he was interested in predecision activities that account for issues' being seriously considered. His model of political dynamics was generated in the federal arena with the specific policy domains of health and transportation issues. The data of this case are from the state arena, in the domain of education, specifically education of the gifted. The researcher argues that the model is descriptive of the scene and lends interpretive power in understanding the data of the study.

THE CASE

Special education services are mandated in New Mexico, and gifted has been one of nine designated exceptionalities since 1972. Through the Public School Reform Act of 1986 the definition of "gifted child" was included in statute for the first time: IQ two standard deviations above the mean, and outstanding achievement, creativity, or critical thinking. After the implementation of the definition, the number of gifted children in the state, especially minority

children, decreased significantly. Yet the legislature has not changed the definition. Through more than four years of inquiry, the researcher addressed two question, why gifted issues were included on the decision agenda in 1986, and why they have not been included since 1986.

Usefulness of the Kingdon Model

The remainder of this paper describes how Kingdon's modified garbage can model of decision-making is useful in explaining why the definition of gifted enacted through New Mexico's Public School Reform Act of 1986 (S.B. 106) has persisted despite continuing controversy. The controversies surrounding the S.B. 106 definition have been collapsed for the purpose of this analysis to one issue: The underrepresentation of minority students in the state's gifted programs. The data are organized as two separate cases; the data are examined using the concepts of streams of problems, policies, and politics, coupled by entrepreneurs when windows are open. Case One explains why gifted was an issue on the decision agenda in 1986. Case Two explains why gifted, specifically the under-representation of minorities issue, has not been on the decision agenda since 1986. The question driving this study:

> **Why has the definition of gifted enacted as policy in New Mexico's Public School Reform Act persisted, despite continuing controversy?**

is at least partially answered through Kingdon's modified garbage can model.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data fom this study suggests that gifted was on the decision agenda in 1986 for five reasons. First, the window was open for the gifted issue because reform was conceived so broadly and the items considered by the Public School Reform Committee were so far-ranging that any subject relating to education could be considered. Second, a countable problem was identified, the rapid and seemingly unchecked growth in numbers of students identified as gifted in the state. Third, the identified problem had equity overtones as the PSRC was told that all students were neither identified as gifted nor served in gifted programs in the same way by the state's 98 school districts. Fourth, a viable alternative was generated that would both save money and restrict gifted services to the truly needy gifted on a standardized basis across the state. Finally, a policy entrepreneur was on the scene to couple the streams of problems, policies, and politics, taking advantage of the window that reform provided.

The analysis further suggests that the gifted issue, specifically the issue of the underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs, has not been on the decision agenda since 1986 for four reasons. First, the problem has

not been clearly identified to the legislature as something they should squarely address. Second, no highly visible participant or crisis/drama has been associated with the issue, and the equity argument has not been invoked. Third, no viable alternative has been suggested that meets the dual tests of technical feasibility and budget workability. Fourth, a policy entrepreneur has been critically missing on the scene, someone to nurture and develop the elements that are present, to couple the three streams at an opportune time. A summary of these points is provided below:

Why Gifted was on the Decision Agenda in 1986:	Why Gifted has not been on the Decision Agenda since 1986
1. Window was open: Reform	Windows opened and closed due to inactivity: Memorials
2. Problem was identified as countable: Growth in numbers and program costs	Problem has not been adequately identified for legislature; do not see connection between statutory definition of gifted and underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs
3. Problem had equity overtones: No standard means of identifying gifted students, and no standard programs	Equity argument missed; no visible participants/crisis/drama
4. Viable alternative available: Make ID standard, save money, provide services only to needy gifted	No viable alternative with technical feasibility and budget workability available
5. Entrepreneur present: SDE Director of Special Education	No entrepreneur on scene; policy players identified

By proposing a straightforward and "flexible" policy solution to the problem of too many identified gifted students in the state, the Public School Reform Committee made it easy for the gifted issue to reach the decision agenda in 1986. But the issue has not been on the decision agenda since: policy makers need both a reason to act and a means to do so. Neither has been articulated to date.

The issue of underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs has been raised but has not attracted adequate attention to precipitate action. And even those who acknowledge the problem do not know what to do about it. The policy community has not offered any palatable solutions, nor has it been sufficiently motivated to do so. The SDE's single recommendation to return the authority for setting the definition of gifted to the State Board of Education begs the original question raised in 1985 of legislative dissatisfaction with the gifted programs as developed and implemented by the State Board of Education.

It seems that no one wants to open the debate on gifted education; maintaining the status quo, while less than desirable because of potential charges of discrimination, may be preferable to approaching an emotional and value-laden subject. While gifted education is seemingly a minuscule policy area, both in terms of program cost and number of students affected, its debate encompasses the very basic dilemma in schools and society: excellence and

equality (Rothenberg, 1990). In identifying gifted children, are schools identifying special privileges or special needs? There are not easy answers, but one point seems clear to the author: the education community prefers to seek those answers on its own turf (if at all), not in the legislative arena. But what combination of factors would it take to open that search? Perhaps that has been the legislative intent through the semantics of 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1990, to allow the SEA/LEA to frame the core questions and work towards the answers. Perhaps the legislature has been waiting for a comprehensive plan to be presented before it removes the statutory language specifying identification criteria for gifted students. And on the other side, perhaps the SEA has been unwilling to invest staff time and energy as long as there are statutory definitions that affect gifted programs. Thus SEA responses to the semantics have been nonspecific and limited. Perhaps someone should "throw the switch" and deliberately work out a plan to identify and serve all gifted children in the state.

Conclusion

Theorizing the data of this study through Kingdon's model is extremely helpful in seeing what kinds of actions and information were present in the flows used and have been missing in the second case in the policymaking arena. By

explaining why the subject has not been on the decision agenda, the model can provide a potential strategy for moving the issue towards the agenda. Based on the analysis presented here, the final section develops strategies that can be used by those seeking to affect policymaking.

Summary and Implications

Although the Kingdon model was developed in the federal legislative arena with issue policy domains of health and transportation, this study demonstrates that applying the model holds in the state arena with the issue policy domain of gifted education. The fact that the model remains explanatory across both different policy areas and levels of analysis is an important finding of the study. This section reviews the findings, then explores the implications of further use of the Kingdon model for analysis of the process of state level educational policymaking.

Findings

The extension of the Kingdon model to a different level of analysis is significant: the literature contains no other attempts to extend the model to the state arena. While there are substantial differences between the state and federal legislative arenas in size, scope, and professionalism, the multiple pathways can model still helps to explain why an issue becomes an issue in the final case of

this study, and why an issue has remained a non-issue in the second case of the study. Furthermore, even though Kingdon presented his model based on broad policy areas, this study has shown that the model's categories are helpful in examining a single, discrete policy initiative. Extending Kingdon's categories to the New Mexico education policy arena highlights aspects of state educational policymaking that may require modification of the model. The researcher suggests that the problems, policies, and politics streams look slightly different at the state level. Those differences will be explained in the following sections.

Transferring the Model to the Education Policy Domain

The federal health and transportation policy domains, upon which Kingdon based his model, while important, are not comparable to the state education policy domain. Education is a dominant issue for state governments. The observation has been made that educational policymaking is mostly concerned with dollars, not with the pedagogical and philosophical concepts centered on teaching and learning (Halperin, 1978). Education is the single largest budget item in New Mexico, consuming half of the state's revenues.[1] Although historically occupying little of the legislators' attention in this state, the legacy of the 1986 omnibus public school reform bill, the activities of the

[1]In 1990, the New Mexico budget for public education was close to $1 billion.

state's "Education Governor," and the national impetus for educational change have kept education in the spotlight in New Mexico during the period of this study.

Education, as a public good, attracts a different kind of stakeholder than do other policy domains. Except for the specific gifted advocacy groups, there are no special interest lobbies that stand to benefit substantially from any outcome. Neither administrators, teachers, nor the general public would derive any direct benefit from changing or eliminating gifted programs. That observation applies to many education programs, in contrast to other policy areas, particularly at the federal level (health and transportation, for example), where there are active, paid lobbyists and organized interest groups with high stakes in policy outcomes. This point may be important in using Kingdon's model in the education domain in general at the state or federal levels; it is certainly important in using the model in the discrete policy area of this study. The peculiarities of the education policy domain affect all three streams of the Kingdon model.

Dominance of the State Department of Education

The state policy community identified in this study is smaller and more loosely-coupled (Weick, 1977) than the policy communities Kingdon described; the education policy community in New Mexico is small and fragmented, dominated by the SDE. Overall, the New Mexico legislative arena is

much smaller than the federal arena, with 112 part-time legislators and two permanent interim committees, the Legislative Education Study Committee (LESC) and the Legislative Finance Committee (LFC). In the everybody-knows-everybody atmosphere of the state, a limited number of political actors play a large part in determining policy outcomes. In the New Mexico arena, the SDE is critically important both as an illuminator of problems and as a generator of alternatives. And the generation of alternatives in the policies stream is not a separate process, nor is it controlled by a different dynamic from the politics stream as Kingdon suggests it is.

In contrast to the federal policy arena, in which information comes from myriad highly specialized and sophisticated sources, state education agencies are virtually the only providers of information for state educational policy decisions (Rosenthal & Fuhrman, 1981). Information provided to legislators may be divided into four kinds of knowledge, in decreasing order of importance: (1) information on upcoming trends and comparisons with other states; (2) facts and figures; (3) information about interest group politics; and (4) in depth studies or program evaluations (Van Horn & Hetrick, 1987). The data of this study verify these patterns. Although the LESC regularly invites members of interest groups, academics, district educators, and others to participate when it convenes task

forces and study groups, the SDE normally provides the data or information for task force activities. Guiding questions for LESC-sponsored studies such as the one conducted by the subgroup on gifted education in 1986 include requests for information on comparisons with national trends and the experiences of neighboring states, compiled numbers which express program data and costs, and requests for comprehensive studies of multiple issues.

There may be a dynamic in the relationship between the SDE and the legislature that affects educational policymaking in New Mexico. During each session, the LESC sponsors both bills and memorials. Ideas for bills and memorials may come directly from individual legislators and their constituents, or they may come from interest groups. Bills and memorials are often the culmination of interim studies conducted by the LESC or conducted by the State Board and SDE and reported to the LESC; the State Board/SDE studies are frequently the result of a previous year's memorial. SDE staff members have expressed impatience with the annual stack of memorials to which they must respond,[2] but memorials do provide a way for the LESC to get direct information from the professional-across-the-street. However, perhaps because memorials represent a burden of work to the SDE staff, the street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980; Weatherly, 1979) may have adopted a coping strategy of

[2]In 1990, 17 memorials were addressed to the SBE/SDE.

responding only to the letter of the memorials rather than conducting full studies and providing detailed information and proposals.

The SDE might prefer the only legislative involvement in education to be the annual appropriations. The legislators, on the other hand, are taking a more interested and proactive position on education, at the least demanding results for their money, and at the most believing they know what it best for the children and schools of the state. There is no parallel for this type of single agency domination and control of information in the federal arena, and it makes the streams of this study slightly different from the Kingdon model.

Blending of Policies and Politics Streams

The data of this study indicate the forces driving the policies stream did not seem so different from the forces driving the politics stream. In both cases, political stream elements like elections and the taboo of tax increases influenced the generation of alternatives, not after the ideas were formulated but as the choices were developed in the policy community. Political factors also served to keep the policy stream hidden from possibly interested participants (parents and teachers) in the first case; by the time advocates of gifted programs discovered there was an issue, the alternative had been specified. (The fact that the advocates were then able to substitute an

alternative is interesting and important but outside the scope of this application of a preenactment model.) In the second case, there has been no initiative taken by anyone in the policy community to devise an alternative policy. This lack of initiative is partially explained because the policy community consists primarily of the SDE; there are so many competing education interests to be developed, many left over from S.B. 106 that remain to be funded and implemented or repealed, that there simply is not enough staff time, energy, or motivation to develop all the necessary alternatives.

Although a micro policy domain, the complexity of issues surrounding gifted education has made even the experts shrink from considering them. Two points are tantamount. One, the cost/funding dimension adds tremendously to the difficulty of the subject. As long as gifted remains an exceptionality of special education, subject to the same requirements, protections, and funding considerations, the subject cannot be simply addressed; any change in numbers of students identified as gifted will change the dollars that flow through the special education weighting of the funding formula to local districts. The data of the study show clearly that <u>cost</u> was a significant factor in dealing with the issue in 1986; an SDE staff member concluded the definition was changed to "conserve fiscal resources drastically diminished by an economic

crisis in the mineral extraction industries." The data are less clear but there is evidence that cost has been a consideration in not addressing the issue since 1986. As long as identification criteria are directly related to special education funding, the legislature is likely to keep control; that constraint makes it more difficult to generate policy alternatives.

Two, the suggestion of removing gifted as an exceptionality of special education, a way around the direct cost problem above, is also quite complex. As demonstrated in the weeks following the release of the Public School Reform Committee's draft legislation, the proposal to remove gifted from special education aroused the loosely organized but highly vocal gifted advocates who equated the exceptionality status with program protection, funding, and survival. For an alternative that includes removing gifted as an exceptionality of special education[3] to be palatable, program administration and funding issues must be addressed.

Implications

When conceived broadly, Kingdon's constructs can be helpful in understanding state educational policymaking. Kingdon's model has the descriptive power of some previous models in the organized anarchy tradition that allows it to

[3]For a discussion of gifted and special education, see Dodd (1987) and Fichter (1987).

capture the messiness of the process. But the model has additional power. By reinjecting some structure to the process, Kingdon emphasizes the organized part of organized anarchy. The streams of problems, policies, and politics joined when windows are open to make ISSUES out of issues provide a structure and have explanatory power for policy analysis and may even have some predictive power for those seeking to affect policymaking. The following section describes how the model can be useful for those attempting to impact the policymaking process.

Recommendations for those Seeking to Affect the Policymaking Process: What it Takes to Make an Issue an ISSUE

The policymaking process cannot be characterized in linear rational terms although many scholars have attempted to do just that. That is not to say that the policymaking process is irrational, however, just that it is messy and not altogether predictable. But there are important patterns in the chaos, and understanding those patterns is important to those desiring to affect policy. The following recommendations have been developed not by one who has sought to and succeeded in affecting policy change, but by one who has observed one state's legislative education policymaking activities and has seen and recorded, over an extended period of time, how an issue became an ISSUE and how another issue did not become an ISSUE. Analysis of these observations has led to these recommendations, which,

while not representing a "cookbook" approach for advocacy,[4] do present a model that could be useful as others seek to effect change.

The following sections examine the categories of Kingdon's model and illuminate strategies for advocacy. Things to consider in recognizing policy windows are described, and ideas for turning an advocate into a policy entrepreneur are presented.

Factors in the politics stream contribute to the context of decision making. Few of those factors, such as the public mood, elections and changes in administration, partisan or ideological distributions, and interest group activities, can be controlled by advocates, but advocates can recognize and acknowledge them and sometimes influence them. Advocates need to understand that politics is often carried on at a level of language and cognition, where meaning is created (Edelman, 1972, 1988).

> It is not "reality" in any testable or observable sense that matters in shaping politic consciousness and behavior, but rather the beliefs that language helps evoke. (Edelman, 1988, p. 105)

Advocates should be aware of these factors and use the knowledge this awareness affords. For example, the public can be made aware of programs through media coverage,

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[4] "Advocacy" will be used in a broad sense throughout this section to mean efforts supporting continuation or change in a policy area. In the same way, "advocates" are those who get involved in the support of efforts, but they are not necessarily leaders or even members of groups.

displays in public places, sending speakers to organization meetings, and including mention of the targeted program whenever and wherever possible. That awareness by the public may be important if a policy issue concerning the program develops. Similarly, by apprising candidates of certain education programs and discussing the merits of the programs, advocates can nurture an awareness that may also be important if the candidate is elected. Education interest groups such as teacher and administrator organizations should be informed about the advocated programs, and the groups' support courted or at least their opposition thwarted so that when an issue arises they can be helpful or minimally harmful. Attempts to influence activities in the politics stream can be on-going, not just undertaken when advocates are seeking to effect change. The receptiveness fostered in the politics stream contributes greatly to a specific issue's becoming an issue on a policymaking agenda.

The problems stream, like the politics stream, is associated with visible participants. In Kingdon's terms, a condition becomes a problem when someone believes something should be done about it. To receive attention in the policymaking arena, to reach the decision agenda, a problem must be made explicit to policy makers. There are several mechanisms by which problems are illuminated. The first is indicators, such as budgets and reports. In developing an

issue, advocates could both generate reports that document their concern and make efforts to ensure that reports produced in other quarters receive the attention of policy makers.

As previously mentioned, research indicates that educational policy makers rely primarily on state departments of education for information (Rosenthal and Fuhrman, 1981); this information is often aggregated from data provided by local school districts. Advocates must familiarize themselves with the kinds of reports and the content of the reports prepared by the SDE. Some reports are made on a regular basis, and advocates can learn the cycle so they will know when to expect certain kinds of information. Reports are also generated by the SDE and others in response to legislative memorials; these reports can be expected, and sometimes input can even be provided for them. Other reports are made in response to internal or external inquiries and are more difficult for advocates to anticipate but are no less important.

Problems are also made evident to policy makers through feedback. Some feedback comes through routine monitoring activities; other can result from complaints over implementation (or lack thereof) of existing programs. Feedback may be given directly to legislators from their constituents, or it may come to them through organizations or through school districts and the SDE. Advocates can

clearly use this mechanism by offering feedback themselves and by discovering and using feedback supplied by others.

The third mechanism in the problems stream is focusing events. These events may include the personal experiences of policy makers, crises, and fads. While they may not create these events, advocates can take advantage of the events if they recognize them. Crises and fads, while not easily manipulable, can still be used effectively by skillful advocates to illuminate a problem. Attracting the attention and support of a highly visible participant such as a legislative leader or the governor can enhance the visibility of a problem and its corollary demand for action.

For advocates, a dominant aspect of the process may be to get their definitions accepted in the policymaking arena, to construct reality (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987) for policy makers. Certainly the framing of the problem affects the choices offered for solution.

An issue must be clearly identified as a problem, in the problems stream, before it can be eligible for consideration on the policymaking agenda. But agreement on a problem is not sufficient to ensure that the issue will be addressed. In addition, there must be at least one viable alternative in the policies stream. Kingdon associates the policies stream with hidden participants, a policy community that draws widely on seasoned groups, including legislative staff members, academics, lobbyists and interest group

implementation, and research organizations. In the state arena, education policy domain, this policy community is more limited than the Kingdon model suggests.

The policies stream of Kingdon's model is dealing with ideas; the stream is a primeval soup of definitions, combinations, and recombinations of ideas. Perhaps because the education policy community is more limited at the state level, there do not seem to be as many ideas "floating around." This limited community promotes disadvantages for the advocate because it is located largely within the bureaucracy of the SEA, an agency advocates cannot easily influence. But if advocates understand that without a solution to attach to it no problem can reach the policymaking agenda, they still understand the importance of ensuring that there is such a solution.

A viable alternative must fit with dominant values and the national (state) mood. That is, it must be able to "float" in the politics stream. Advocates cannot change dominant values and the public mood, but they can discern values and mood, and they can check alternatives for its palatability. A viable alternative must meet the dual tests of technical feasibility and budget workability. Before an alternative has a chance of being joined to a problem in the policymaking arena, it must be demonstrated that, were the alternative to become policy, it could be implemented at not too high a cost. Technical details and budget considerations

may be outside the advocate's expertise, but it is important that the advocate to ensure that those considerations are not neglected as alternatives are developed and considered.

Even when there are elements that argue strongly on behalf of an issue, it is still possible that the time might not be right to consider the issue in the policymaking arena usually because other issues are more pressing. The advocate must understand the importance of this timing and the relation to the capacity of the system. Kingdon concludes that the system can simultaneously handle many specific, routine items but only a few general, nonroutine items, that require more information from the bureaucracy and more consideration by the legislature may be dealt with at any given time.

The time is right if the window is open. Some windows are opened regularly and predictably through such things as the budget cycle or expected, important milestones. Issues that have fiscal impact will be considered during the budget process. One mention of the advocate's issue in the governor's annual address to the legislature, for example, can enhance or stable the issue to reach the agenda; it opens the window. Even advisors suggest there are swinging pendulums in government so if an opportunity is missed, it will come around again.

Other windows open unpredictably and fleetingly. An advocate may be able to take advantage of some and may miss

others entirely, or a window may open before elements in the streams are available to be coupled. The best the advocate can do is to be prepared for the predictable windows and to be alert for the unexpected windows.

It is no accident that this plan has outlined a critical role for advocates. Issues networks (Hirst & Meister, 1983) can be established, whereby initiators of issues generate a policy movement by creating a network of advocates. The coupling of the three streams does not just happen: a policy entrepreneur provides the coupling. An advocate can be that entrepreneur, someone who is invested in the issue for personal or professional reasons, and someone who is willing to see the issue through. In addition to knowing the elements of each stream thoroughly, the entrepreneur must be sensitive to opportunities (windows) to push an issue forward. It takes patience and judgment: sometimes opportunities must be allowed to pass by if couplings are incomplete. The entrepreneur must have resources and the skill and will to use them. The resources come from being ready and understanding the policymaking scene with its complexity and serendipity. The skill comes from an application of strategies as suggested in this plan: the will comes only from the individual. In a game metaphor, the entrepreneur functions as the team coach/owner/broker. It may be helpful to think along a continuum of policy participants.

While concluding there was no critical entrepreneur to couple the streams in the second case of this study, the researcher identified several "policy players." These players had the potential to significantly impact policy. However, their influence was not steady or intense enough to earn them the designation of entrepreneur. They disappeared and sometimes reappeared on the scene without enduring to provide the essential coupling.

A third category of participants also suggests itself: policy spectators.[5] Such spectators may have a policy position, they may even be considered advocates, but their roles are passive or reactionary. Yet they have the potential for moving along the continuum from spectator to player and on to coach/owner/broker (entrepreneur).

Following these recommendations does not ensure enactment once an issue reaches the policymaking agenda. And enactment does not necessarily mean implementation consistent with expectations. But those are other dynamics, important for consideration by advocates, yet not the focus of these recommendations. Instead, this section has concentrated on describing the complex, intertwining components that must be dealt with to make an issue an ISSUE. The elements are neither orderly nor sequential, but they are identifiable through the Kingdon model. According

[5]See Firestone's (1989) description of the public spectacle of the legislative education policymaking game.

to Kingdon, the key to understanding policy change is not discovering where an idea came from but discovering what made the idea take hold and grow.

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